[45] THE CARIBS, GUADELOUPE. PART TWO

The Origin, Customs, Religion, and Other Practices Of The Caribs, Commonly Called Savages, Early Inhabitants Of Guadeloupe

797 As our mission was established principally for the instruction of the
114 infidel savages, it is necessary to describe their origins and customs, for a knowledge of the temperament of those with whom we deal will make it easier to judge the ultimate success of the mission. We recount here only what is certain. Father Raymond Breton, a missionary monk who conversed nearly two years with the savages and who learned their language well in that time (1), was able to learn their customs

1. Parisian version: "Father Raymond... learned their language so well that during that time he was able..." [See: Joseph Rennard, Les Caraïbes, La Guadeloupe (The Caribs, Guadeloupe), Paris, 1929. pp. 5-18.]

and ceremonies. He witnessed nearly all of these or learned of them first hand, at least as far as those of Dominica are concerned. In the other islands they have other notions, as we have seen from the report of Father Meslan, a Jesuit who has visited the savages of Martinique.

[46] CHAPTER I

The Origin and Temperament of The Savages

101 Nothing can be made of all their fancies and lies concerning their
● 174 origins except that they are descended from the people of the mainland closest to the islands. That much is certain. The friendship they maintain with them and the commerce with them are signs of
101 it, as is the uniformity of the name they call themselves—kallinago [callinago] in the men's language and kalliponam [calliponam] in

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101 the women's language. However, to make some distinction between themselves and the people of the mainland, they call the latter balouɗouri, from the word ballouɗ, which means mainland; thus a callinago of the mainland is distinguished in the same way as one would classify a Frenchman as a Parisian or a Langrois. We call those people of the mainland who are friends of our savages Gallybis [Galibis] —and call our savages Carafbes [Caribs].

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173 If you ask the latter why they separated from the mainlanders and moved to the islands, they can give no reason. However, they all say that their first father, Callinago, left the mainland with his family and settled in Dominica. There he had a long line of de-
C scendants, and the nephews of his nephews, with extreme cruelty,
[825] poisoned him. But he was changed into a fish of monstrous size, which they call Akaiouman and which is still very much alive in their river. At least this fable shows that they are descended from the peo-
● C P ple of the mainland.

●174 Several of the French believe that there were earlier inhabitants of these islands whom the Caribs chased away. This belief is founded upon the fact (and it is even certain according to the savages) that in some of the islands there are still survivors of these people, who retreated to the mountains and who are white like the French and wear long beards. Monsieur d'Esnambuc, governor of Saint Christopher, assured Father Raymond [Breton] that there were some on Saint Christopher. The Caribs affirm [47] that there are some at Guadeloupe and that they dwell above the large river at Goyave and at Grande-Terre. It is certain that there are some at Dominica be-
C cause they are often seen there. The first time Father Raymond was
[727 at Dominica in 1642, the Caribs had captured a man, a woman, and
567] a girl of these people by surprise. They killed and ate the man, and enslaved the woman and girl. Last year, on the same day Father Raymond arrived, the mountaineers had made a raid, burned a cabin, and carried off a few household goods.

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173 Our Caribs, however, say in one of their trusted traditions that
P they killed the Allouagues, (first) inhabitants of the islands, (1)
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1. Roman version: "Our Caribs... say... that they are the first inhabitants of the islands and that the people in the mountains... etc."

173 were Galibis from the continent who branched off in order to conquer the islands. The captain who led them was small in size but great in courage. It is said that he ate little and drank even less. All the natives of the country
[198] were exterminated except for the women, who have always retained something of their own language, in order to keep alive the memory of these conquests. The captain then ordered them to carry the heads of his enemies to a place where the fathers could show them to their children and they successively to all their posterity. As a matter of fact these heads have been found by the French in the small caves formed in the rocks by the edge of the sea. They told me that they had once had kings and that the word abouyou was the name for those who carried them on their shoulders. Furthermore they said that the Caribs who had their carbet [men's house] at the foot of Soufrière on Dominica beyond d'Amichon were descended from these kings."
But this good Father did not take the trouble of asking when the Caribs had ceased to have kings, which would be a fact worth knowing.

●174 One can add two or three things which clearly show that these peoples are descended from Galibis. First of all there is a common tradition which all of the Caribs believe: they affirm that the Galibis, their ancestors, came into these islands in centuries past in order to fight the Igneri, who were the natives in this country. The second thing which confirms it and about which we will talk elsewhere is the diversity of the language between men and women, which still persists today. They say that this diversity had its origin at the time of the conquest, because the Galibis killed all the males of these islands and only spared the wives and daughters to whom they gave husbands from the young men of their nation. Both groups have maintained their original language. To all of this evidence must be added the general resemblance of religion, of customs, and of language. Thus there can be no question or doubt as to whether they had their origin from the Galibis of the continent.

726 At the beginning of the occupation of Guadeloupe it was a common belief both among the Caribs and among the old French inhabitants that in addition to the Caribs who were the masters of the islands there

726 were still a few Igneri in the mountains who survived the Galibis massacre of the original inhabitants, and that occasionally these Igneri descended in stealth from the mountains and did much harm to the Galibis. But our hunters who at that time traveled all over the island had no knowledge of them.

In addition, it was said that a little time before the journey made by Father Raymond [Breton], these so-called Igneri had seized a young Negro slave woman and after they had skinned her they covered a tree with her skin. This inhuman cruelty aroused the Caribs to fury, and they gathered together and climbed up inaccessible rocks. They reached a house which they surrounded. The people inside consisted only of one man together with his wife and small child. After a weak attempt at resistance they were captured. The husband was roasted and eaten, and the woman and her child were enslaved. Five years later, Father Raymond [Breton] having returned to the area learned of a raid by the mountain people who had set fire to some houses belonging to their enemies. After loading themselves with booty they returned to their mountain settlement. This new eruption gave Father Raymond [Breton] a reason to question the Caribs. He asked whether they believed the people who made these raids were still true Igneri. They answered "no," that these mountain people were fugitive slaves called Allouagues whom they had captured in war. The captives, they said, fearing shameful servitude and afraid of being eaten, had taken to the woods and mountains where they increased in numbers because they had their wives with them.

114 Relying on the accounts of Mr. de l'Olive, of Mr. de la Ramee,
● 174 and of the oldest inhabitants of our islands, I emphasized the point in the first edition [1654 edition] of this history that some of the Caribs who lived in the islands before us were survivors of the Spanish massacres in the islands of Cuba, Hispaniola, and Puerto Rico. This is different from what Mr. de Rochefort would have us believe. Although it is quite difficult to tack against the wind with the native boats, nevertheless, it is not true that:

[502] "It is marvelous that the boats of the Caribs are able to tack against the wind and gain a league a day."

I myself have seen them make ten to twelve leagues per day in the face of contrary winds. Therefore the difficulty these fugitives would

114 have had in reaching our islands is not so great as Mr. de Rochefort
174 would have us believe. In addition we have learned from the companions of Mr. Desnambuc that in the fights waged at St. Kitts in 1626 there were among the Caribs who perished there several of these miserable refugees who had fled to avoid the cruelty of the Spanish.

But Mr. de Rochefort in arguing against what I said in my first edition, but without quoting me, did not pay heed to the fact that he was falling into much greater error when stating that the Caribs descended from the Apalachites who lived six or seven hundred leagues beyond the islands occupied by the Spanish. The only reason for his statement is that the winds were favorable five or six hundred years ago, which is to say about three hundred years before the discovery of America. This is a very wild guess on his part.

Thus I am convinced that the only reason Mr. de Rochefort had for seeking so great a distance for the origin of the Caribs was to have a pretext for increasing his book with the history which Mr. Bristol has made of the Apalachites. In the same way Mr. d Rochefort has stated that a sea unicorn was washed ashore at Tortuga. This story belongs to the fancy of Davis and du Groenand. Mr. de Rochefort put this story into his book in order to use the history of these people made by the Dutch, and in this fashion he has mixed the north and the south, the heats of the Torrid Zone with the cold and ice of the extreme latitudes. As a matter of fact, although I was in the islands by the time this so-called unicorn was beached and although I was very curious to learn everything which happened in these islands, I never heard anything resembling this story. All of the inhabitants of that time whom I questioned told me that they had never heard about it, and I cannot conceive how the memory of such a considerable event would have remained obscure to them. I do not wish to say that this story is absolutely false or impossible.

Concerning the Religion of the Caribs

000 It is a very deplorable fact to see these poor people being born in paganism and spending their lives in darkness, for as St. Paul said: "filii irae sine Deo in hoc mundo."

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

THE CARIB

By Irving Rouse

INTRODUCTION

●174 The *Carib*, like the *Arawak*, were South American in origin. According to their traditions, they came into the West Indies no more than a century before the arrival of Columbus; by his time they had succeeded in conquering all the Lesser Antilles and probably also the northeastern part of Trinidad, exterminating the *Arawak* men who formerly lived there and taking their wives as slaves. They were conducting raids upon the *Arawak* of the Greater Antilles, but there is no confirmation of reports that they had settled anywhere in that territory, except possibly in spots on the eastern end of Puerto Rico.

ARCHEOLOGY

172 Very little work has been done on *Carib* archeology. Some writers, however, have assigned to the *Carib* all the archeological remains in the Lesser Antilles described above as *Arawak*. In view of the shortness of the time during which the *Carib* inhabited the Lesser Antilles, this is not likely. The only possibly authentic *Carib* site known to the writer is the place at Banana Bay on the small island of Balliceaux to which the English moved the *Black Carib* in 1797. Fewkes (1922, p. 89), who made a study of this site, has not described the material found.[1]

[583] Additional *Carib* sites will undoubtedly be found in the future, but it should be difficult to identify them because of the fact that the *Carib* wives were often captive *Arawak* women, who probably made the pottery and other objects which survive in the sites according to their own customs. A study of the location of the historic *Carib* sites may perhaps help to overcome this difficulty.

HISTORY

175 Columbus first made contact with the *Carib* during his second voyage, in 1493, when he purposely sailed farther south in order to investigate these fierce savages of whom he had heard in Hispaniola. His first landing place was a small uninhabited island near Dominica; from there he went to Guadeloupe and discovered a *Carib* village. The men being absent on a raid, he was able to receive on board six captive *Arawak* women from

[1] Loven (1935, p. 545) believes that even this site is *Arawak*.

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
ST13 Callinago ST13

which must have taken the strength of a giant to wield and carry continuously in battle, one of them weighing over six pounds and measuring ten inches in breadth. This name is applied, however, for lack of a better, at present, as they may have served other uses than those of war. Chisels of shell, such as are common in Barbadoes, and the low-lying islands, are infrequently found in those that are volcanic, which mainly constitute the Caribbees. 172

The few in the Guesde collection are from the shell of the fossil *strombus gigas*, as being harder than the living *strombus*. "It is certain that the Caribs did not take the living *strombi*, but were careful to use the fossil, which had in time acquired the hardness of ivory."

Several minor collections exist in the West Indies, and these, if possible, should be gathered together in some American museum, where they can be studied by those to whom the scientific aspects of the problem are familiar and whose opinion would be competent.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ANTILLEANS.—In a general way, as shown in the preceding pages, I have gathered such information and herewith present it, as has been available to one engaged in other pursuits than ethnology. It would certainly be germane to inquire into, and even to speculate upon, the origin of the peoples whose works we have been examining. Without any pretence to authoritative premises, yet I would venture to offer some facts bearing upon the question, with the humble hope that they may aid in the elucidation of the problem of the origin of the West-Indian Aborigines. 174 161

Says the great Humboldt: "When a continent and its adjacent islands are peopled by one and the same race, we may choose between two hypotheses: an emigration from one, or from the other. . . . The archipelago of the W. I. islands forms a narrow and broken neck of land parallel with the isthmus of Panama, and supposed by some geographers to have anciently joined the peninsula of

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
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Florida with the northeast extremity of South America. It is the eastern shore of an inland sea, which may be considered as a basin with several outlets. . . . The islanders of Cuba, Haiti, Puerto Rico and the Bahamas were, according to the uniform testimony of the first *conquistadores*, entirely different from the Caribs. . . . The Caribs, in the XVIth. century, extended from the Virgin Islands on the north to the mouth of the Orinoco, perhaps to the Amazon. . . . Those of the continent admit that the small W. I. islands were anciently inhabited by the Arawaks, a warlike nation yet existing on the Main. . . . They assert that the male Arawaks were exterminated, except the women, by the Caribs, who came from the mouth of the Orinoco. In support of this theory, note the analogy existing between the language of the Arawaks and that of (some of) the Carib women."

[173] The present Caribs, says Im Thurm, say that they arrived in Guiana from sky-land, through a hole in the clouds. Davies, the ancient author from whom we have extensively quoted, says: "The Dominican Caribs said their ancestors came out of the continent, from among the Calibis, to make war against the Arouages (Arawaks) who inhabited the islands, and whom they utterly destroyed, excepting the women, whom they took to themselves," etc. Some have held that the nation had origin in the Floridian peninsula; but this theory is founded upon something like the following "testimony" quoted by Davies (17th century): "from one Master Brigstock, an English gentleman, one of the most curious and inquisitive persons in the world, who, among his other great and singular accomplishments, hath attained the perfection of the Virginian and Floridian languages. . . . Who says (1653) the Caribbeans were originary inhabitants of the Septentrional part of America, of that country which is call'd Florida. They came to inhabit the islands after they had departed from amidst the Apalachites, among whom they lived a long

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time; and they left there some of their people, who to this day go under the name of Caribbeans(?); but the first origin is from the Cofachites, who only changed their denomination," etc. 174 161

Of like trivial character, is nearly all the scant testimony as to a northern origin for these peoples. But, recently, a high authority, Prof. W. H. Holmes,[1] of the Bureau of Ethnology, at Washington, claims to have found what may be termed a Caribbean contact with Florida, in certain treatment of such examples of ceramic art as have been found in Florida. Without seeking to controvert this, I will merely present the facts, as shown by the historians, by tradition, and by existing objects, which seem to lead us back to the South American continent as the ancient home of the Indians of both the Greater and Lesser Antilles. That the inhabitants of these two great groups, or chains of islands, were of different stock, has been, I think, conclusively shown. Says the old writer, heretofore quoted: "The great difference in language and character between the Caribs and the inhabitants of Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica and Puerto Rico, hath given birth to the opinion that their origin was different. . . . Of this there seems indeed to be little doubt; but the question, from whence each class of islands was first peopled, is of more difficult solution. . . . Rochefort (1658) pronounced them originally a nation of Florida; . . . yet, the natives of the Bahamas, nearest to Florida, were evidently a similar people to those of Hispaniola. Sir Walter Raleigh assures us that the Charaibes of the coast of Guiana spoke the language of Dominica; and I incline to the opinion of Martyr, that the islanders were rather a colony from the Caribs of South America, than from any nation of the North. . . . Rochefort admits that their own traditions referred constantly to Guiana. . . . It does not appear

[1] "Caribbean Influences on the Prehistoric Ceramic Art of the Southern States," 1894.

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
ST13 Callinago ST13

that they entertained the most remote idea of a northern ancestry. . . . The antipathy which they manifested towards the unoffending natives of the larger islands appears extraordinary; but it is said to have descended to them from their ancestors of Guiana; they considering those islanders as a colony of Arawaks, a nation of South America with whom the Charaibes of that continent are constantly at war. . . . But their friendship was as warm as their enmity was implacable. . . . The Caribs of Guiana still (18th century) cherish the traditions of Raleigh's alliance, and to this day preserve the English colors which he left them at parting."(?) — *Edwards's History of Jamaica.*

We have seen that historical tradition points towards the southern continent as their ancestral abiding-place; let us make another inquiry. Of the animals that constituted their food-supply, nearly all the mammals were allied to species or genera of the South American continent; such were the Agouti, Peccary, Armadillo, Opossum, Raccoon, "Musk-rat," the Dumb Dog (now extinct), perhaps the Alco, the Yutia and Almique (of Cuba), and possibly, in the extreme south, a species of monkey. Add to these the Iguana, which is peculiarly tropical, the many birds, and the fishes, and we have their entire food-supply of an animal nature; saving that the Caribs are said to have been anthropophagous; though I doubt if they were more than ritual cannibals, at the worst.

We have seen, also, that the present Caribs of Guiana conform in many respects to those of the islands, and have the same characteristics, preserving their ancient dislike of the Arawaks to the extent of positive aversion. It only remains to quote from a high authority as to their linguistic affinities, to close this summary of points of resemblance. As to the larger islands being inhabited by Indians speaking the same tongue, we may recall that a Lucayan interpreter served Columbus throughout his

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
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cruisings among the various islands. Says the authority just alluded to, Dr. D. G. Brinton, "The Arawak stock of languages is the most widely disseminated of any in South America. It begins at the south with the Guanas, on the headwaters of the river Paraguay, and with the Baures and Moxos on the highlands of southern Bolivia, and thence extends almost in continuity to the Goajiros peninsula, the most northern land of the continent. Nor did it cease there; all the Antilles, both Greater and Lesser, were originally occupied by its members, and so were the Bahamas, thus extending its dialects to within a short distance of the mainland of the northern continent, and over forty-five degrees of latitude. Its tribes probably at one time occupied the most of the lowlands of Venezuela, whence they were driven, not long before the discovery, by the Caribs, as they also were from many of the southern islands of the West Indian archipelago. The latter event was then of such recent occurrence that the women of the Island Caribs, most of whom had been captured from the Arawaks, *still spoke that tongue*. They were thus the first of the natives of the New World to receive the visitors from European climes; and the words picked up by Columbus and his successors on the Bahamas, Cuba and Haiti, are readily explained by the dialects of this stock. No other nation was found on any part of the archipelago except the two I have mentioned. . . . The culture of the Arawak stock was generally somewhat above the stage of savagery. On the West Indies Columbus found them cultivating maize, potatoes, manioc, yams and cotton. They were the first to introduce to Europeans the wondrous art of tobacco smoking. They wove cotton into garments and were skilful in polishing stone. They hammered the native gold into ornaments, carved curious masks of wood, blocked rude idols out of large stones, and hollowed the trunks of trees to construct what they

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
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000 called canoes. . . . Such is approximately the culture of the existing stock.

101 "The Carib stock is one of the most extensively distrib-
● 174 uted in the southern continent. At the discovery, its dialects were found on the Lesser Antilles, the Caribbee islands, and on the mainland from the mouth of the Essequibo to the Gulf of Maracaibo. . . . All the island, Orinoco, and Guiana Caribs can be traced back to the mainland of northern Venezuela. . . . The physical features of the Caribs assimilate closely to those of the Arawaks. They are taller, in the average, and more vigorous; but their skulls are equally brachycephalic and orthognathic. . . . The Caribs have had a bad reputation on account of their anthropophagous tendencies; indeed, the word *cannibal* is a mispronunciation of their proper name."[1]

An ancient writer says that this word was first heard off the coast of Haiti,—*canniba*, an aboriginal word, meaning man-eater;—"And finding in *canniba* the word *can* (Khan), Columbus was of the opinion that these pretended man-eaters were in reality merely subjects of the great Khan of Cathay, who, for a long time, had been scanning these seas in search of slaves."

The Caribs were quite on a par with their neighbors, the Arawaks, and in some respects superior to them. "For instance, their canoes were larger and finer (?), and they had invented the device of the sail, which seems to have been unknown to all the other tribes on the continent. . . . To some extent they were agricultural, and their pottery was of superior quality."—*Brinton*.

174 We may deduce, then, from these desultory observations, that these people, so different in many ways, and yet with striking resemblances, had a southern origin; that they were still in the neolithic period, possessing no books, paper, hieroglyphs or ideographs; the rude pet-

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[1] "The American Race," by Daniel G. Brinton. New York, 1891.

9: Ober N-5 (1876-1878) 1895
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roglyphs being their nearest approach to the graphic arts; and there was little promise of that extraordinary development of an indigenous civilization on the lines of advance followed by the natives of Mexico and Central America. They seem to have been isolated from every country and every contact except in the south.

Trusting that this fragmentary contribution will be accepted in the spirit of its intention: as containing suggestions for other and better-equipped students to follow out and develop; and that it may prove acceptable to the honorable gentlemen with whom it is the writer's privilege to be allied, it will now be brought to a conclusion.

101 America, notably from Venezuela, had at first overrun the Lesser Antilles which were nearest the mainland: Trinidad, Tabago, and the other Leeward Islands; Grenada, St. Vincent, Ste. Lucie, Martinique, Dominica, Guadeloupe, and the whole Lesser Antillean Archipelago, and finally the Greater Antilles: Puerto Rico, Santo Domingo, Jamaica and Cuba.

● 174 Some say two centuries, (1) others say only two generations be-

[13] 1. Denikes, Les races et les peuples de la terre /The Races and The Peoples of the Earth/. Paris, 1900.

fore the discovery of America, the Caribs had already, in all the Lesser Antilles, replaced the Tainos who inhabited them before; they had even begun to contest with them the eastern part of Puerto Rico and sometimes launched naval expeditions against them as far as the coast of Santo Domingo.

Where did these Caribs come from? Historians have expressed completely contradictory hypotheses on this subject. According to Rochefort, (2) Father Labat (3) and others, they appear to have come

[13] 2. Rochefort (C. de), Histoire Naturelle et morale des isles Antilles de l'Amérique /Natural and Moral History of the Islands of the Antilles of America/. in-4, Rotterdam, 1658.

3. Labat (J.-B.), Nouveau Voyage aux isles de l'Amérique /New Voyage to the Islands of America/. in-12, Nouvelle Edition, Paris, 1742.

from the Appalachee country of the Florida Peninsula and to have reached the southern tip of this peninsula. They then crossed in their canoes the arm of the sea which separated them from the Bahamas, which they invaded one after the other, spreading out as they took their way from north to south through all the small islands of the Antillean archipelago. From there, they appear to have even crossed to South America, notably to the Guianas and Brazil, penetrating deeply into the interior of these countries. Father Dutertre (4) and

[113] 4. Dutertre (R.-P.), Histoire Générale des Antilles /General History of the Antilles/. Paris, 1658.

177 several other historians have set forth an opinion diametrically opposed to this. According to them, the Caribs of the Antilles came, on the contrary, from the Guianas, since they have heard the Indians themselves say that they were descended from the Galibis, who still inhabit these regions today. This is in harmony with the theory generally adopted by modern linguists, according to whom the origin of the Carib race, in its widest sense, would be found at a point in the center of Brazil, situated possibly to the north, possibly to the south, of the Amazon. It is from this point that the Caribs appear to have migrated to Guiana, whence they betook themselves to the Lesser Antilles, following almost the /131/ same route as their Arawak predecessors. This latter theory is today held by the most informed anthropologists and we shall see later that it is in part confirmed by the linguistic observations we have been able to make.

Wherever they came from the Caribs, (according to the most reliable writers), appear as they overran the islands to have massacred all the men and spared the women whom they made their wives or their slaves. These women were of the Arawak race and spoke a 198 191 different language from that of the Caribs. An interesting fact, and one which is recounted by most travellers, is that this Arawak language perpetuated itself among the women from mother to daughter, while the men spoke Carib from father to son, the members of both sexes understanding, besides the two languages, but speaking only that which was proper to its own sex. Father Labat, after having related these facts, adds that there existed among the Caribs still a third language belonging to the warriors, but this third language is not mentioned in any other place. The duality of language, whose origin we have just shown, has been recorded at different times and was perpetuated for more than five centuries among the Caribs of the Antilles; even today there remain traces of it among the last members of this race whose present vocabulary still contains some Arawak words.

175 When Columbus landed in the Lesser Antilles, at Guadeloupe, at the time of his second voyage, in 1493, and in the other islands during his later voyages, he was always greeted with arrows by the Caribs; the Spanish also, who remembered these islanders unfavorably,

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

551 comes from ebène *lancet*, yebéni *my lancet* (a hafted tooth of *Dasyprocta agouti*), and means literally *who released* (i.e. let blood) *from me*.

CONCLUSION

114 It will be apparent from the foregoing that the picture of Island Carib
174 society in early colonial days, left to us by the French missionary fathers of the seventeenth century, contains many gaps and ambiguities which it is now too late to fill in and elucidate.

The story of the Carib conquest of the islands as told to Breton by "the Captains of the Isle of Dominica" is doubtless true enough in outline; but it does not help to fix the date or causes of the invasion. Skulls might remain intact for a long time in a dry cave—even though it was near the sea; and women who "kept something of their language" for four hundred years after Columbus' discovery of the Caribees, may well have done so during as long a period before that event. On the other hand, the realistic description of the leader of the invading forces, and the tradition of former "kings" (probably a pre-Carib institution) point—albeit for purely psychological reasons—to a not far distant era. It may likewise be inferred that the Caribs' acquaintance with the islands, and their hatred of Arawak, island- and mainland-tribes alike, went much farther back than this last, successful invasion.[11]

174 That they did not bring Carib women from the mainland appears, not only in their own story, but in the descriptions of the marriage system obtaining among them toward the middle of the seventeenth century. Had they done so, it is more than likely that some hereditary distinctions and privileges would have resulted; but we are expressly told that the children even of captive women were [565] in no way discriminated against. A roving and warlike people, the Caribs had no use for hereditarily privileged classes; and while maintaining the general (Arawak?) custom of matrilocal, cross-cousin marriage, insured the strength of their own elected chiefs by making their and their sons' marriages patrilocal. Thus an Island Carib headman, or war-leader was able to take several wives without adding greatly to his own economic burden, and could count on the support of all his adult offspring and their spouses in the event of dearth, dispute, or warfare. Small wonder that men were willing to put up with some self-
174 inflicted torture to prove themselves worthy of such a position!

That the Island Carib were and remained patripotestal cannot be doubted,
562 and is evident both from the ease with which they are said to have disposed of

11 Guiana folklore suggests that Arawak and Carib were originally one people who split over sexual taboos or on account of a portion of the females crossing with foreign stock.

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
ST13 Callinago ST13

a suspected wife, and from the preponderance of terms for male over those for female kin. Male domination is further indicated by the alternative forms of marriage recorded, and reflected in the variety of the men's terms for spouse; while the absence of this feature from the women's tongue suggests the former prevalence of a stricter system of matrimony.

The latter is revealed by a great deal of the kinship terminology itself, in which the men used the same or equivalent terms as the women. The analysis of these terms confirms the historical records of unilateral cross-cousin marriage (to paternal aunts' daughters), of the sororate and levirate, and of the so-called classificatory system; and attests the (at least) one-time existence of matrilineal descent and inheritance (the male line zigzagging through sister's son back to son's son). Since the significance and social implications of these terms must have been clear to Carib speakers, it seems probable that as an ideal the system was kept intact, but that marriage by elopement or capture became just as common so long as raiding expeditions could be kept up. Present-day house inheritance by the youngest child, continued prevalence of matrilocal residence, and surviving kinship terminology also tend to a like conclusion. Of the fifteen kinship terms remembered today and recorded by myself, it is noteworthy that those belonging to the men's speech (u h, w f = u gf, w m = u gm, u, gu, gf) are concerned with sisters' marriage and posterity, and with the grandparent-grandchild relationship; while those of the women's speech (h, w, d, f, m, o br, y br) designate the conjugal and consanguineal group. The other two, n-ubu *my mate* (12) and n-ígītu *my mother's brother's son*, belong to the common vocabulary.

In this sense, and only in this sense, exogamous, non-totemic, matrilocal clans may be said to have existed among the Island Carib; but I have found no evidence that they bore any names, or even went beyond the joint family.

The variety of terms for sponsors and their "godchildren," for namesake, joking, and formal friends, as well as the description of the elétuak rites and festival, suggest the former existence of purely Carib institutional associations, which are, however, nowhere recorded for the islands. A last vestige of such might perhaps be seen in the present-day seriousness with which godsib-godparent-godchild, and sibling-of-first-communion relationships are taken.

Like other conquerors before and after them, the Island Carib seem to have begun by imposing a maximum of social change on their erstwhile Arawak wives; only to revert, albeit very gradually, to a large part of the culture of the conquered (even in language: all recent Island Carib texts showing a large proportion of Arawak words and forms). The coming of the white men, and the

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
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to conquer the islands led by a Chief "small in body, but great in courage, who ate little, and drank still less"; and goes on to say how they told him that they had had kings in former times, and that the word *aboúyou* was the name given to those who bore the king on their shoulders.[11] Armand de la Paix says that they were unable to give a reasonable account of how they had left the mainland and come to the islands.

> Only that, they all say, their first Kallinago [Carib] father, having left the mainland accompanied by his family, settled in Dominica. He had a long posterity and saw the nephews of his nephews, who, in their extreme cruelty, killed him by poison. But he was changed into a fish of monstrous size which they call Akáiuma, and is still full of life in their river.[12]

It is certainly not such traditions as these which can fix the date of the Caribs' first arrival in the Antilles within a century.

Of the Black Carib, Rouse states: "In 1675 a cargo of Negro slaves was shipwrecked upon St. Vincent, and they intermarried with the Indians. This *Carib*-Negro mixture became most hostile to the Europeans, and so in 1795 the English moved them from St. Vincent, first to the small island of Balliceaux offshore, and later to Ruatán Island, near the coast of Honduras. . . ."[13] In Armand de la Paix' *Relation*, we find under the year 1646: "Some Negroes of Saint Vincent of the isles, being in Saint Lucia, massacred some French people from Martinique by the order of their Carib master"; while according to the Calendar of State Papers (West Indian Colonies) for 1667, the Island of St Vincent then contained "all Indians, and some Negroes from the loss of two Spanish ships in 1635."[14] The introduction of Negroes to St Vincent goes much further back, therefore, than the shipwreck of 1675; and perhaps even to Carib raids on Puerto Rico, antedating the French and English colonization of the Lesser Antilles. According to la Borde, the Negroes in St Vincent had become as powerful as the Indians there, by his day; while twenty years later (1719) the "Black Carib" were masters of the island, outnumbering the "Yellow Caribs" to an extent which, according to Bryan Edwards, had reached the proportions of ten to one before the end of the eighteenth century. They had been on friendly terms with the French, this author

11 Breton, *op. cit.*, pp. 229-230.

12 Armand de la Paix, in Rennard, p. 46. The former was head of the Dominican mission in Guadeloupe from 1643 to 1648, and reputed author of the *Relation de l'Isle de la Guadeloupe faite par les Missionnaires Dominicains à leur Général en 1647*, which was published in the latter's work.

13 *Handbook*, p. 548.

14 Armand de la Paix, in Rennard, pp. 108-109; *Calendar of State Papers*, 1661-1668, No. 1661.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
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tells us moreover, since long before his time; and their enmity toward the English, aroused by the latter's insatiable land-greed and temporarily dispelled by the treaty of 1773 (which assigned them the northern and more mountainous quarter of the island), had been subsequently re-awakened by the openly expressed intentions of many English colonists to dispossess them still further. Instigated and supported by the French revolutionary leader, Victor Hugues, war between the St Vincent Carib ("Black" and "Yellow") together with the "democratical whites" on the one hand, and the English together with their slaves on the other, broke out on March 10, 1795, and continued until, "before the close of November 1796, the Charaibes and their allies had all submitted, on the terms offered to them by the British commander." The narrative continues:

> The Charaibes, including women and children, were in number nearly 5000; and the whites and people of colour amounted to scarcely less than 1000. As, after what had passed, it was much to be feared that the colonists could never again rely upon the fidelity of their uncivilized neighbours, it was finally resolved to remove the Charaibes from the colony, and they were in consequence conveyed with their families to the Island of Ratan [*sic!*], in the Bay of Honduras.[15]

Rouse continues: "The *Carib* who remained in the West Indies also intermarried somewhat with the Negroes. They continued to reside in Dominica and St. Vincent until the end of the 19th century, when they were moved to a reservation in Dominica."[16] The present *Carib Reserve* in Dominica was created in June 1903 by enlarging the boundaries of what for long had been the largest remaining Carib settlement in the island. As far as I know, no enforced removal of Caribs took place; and there are still several patches of "Carib lands" outside the *Reserve*, on which Carib families or descendants of Caribs are living today. Certainly, neither then nor at any other time were Caribs moved from St Vincent to Dominica.

"The period covered is that from 1650 to 1700. . . ."[17] Rouse nevertheless speaks of cocoanuts and limes, tortoise-shell fish-hooks and clay griddles, as if these things were contemporaneous, which is unlikely. Breton saw only two cocoanut trees (which the Caribs called palms, from the Spanish word for palm) in the whole of Dominica; and considered them rare enough to take and plant a nut at Basse Terre, Guadeloupe. As for limes, he says expressly: "they [the Caribs] hardly use them." Of turtle-shell fish-hooks, the 1647 *Relation* says: "On en voit encore chez eux, quoi qu'ils ne s'en servent plus."[18] On the other hand, as

15 Edwards, *History*, vol. 4, pp. 73-74.
16 *Handbook*, p. 548.
17 *Handbook*, pp. 549-550.
18 Breton, *Dictionaire Caribe-Français*, p. 297; Armand de la Paix, p. 68.

13: Hodge & Taylor N. E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

121 plaining changes in their social structure is universally recognized by ethnologists today. In an article on American culture history LOWIE recently wrote (36): « Another interesting question is how far the Southeast of the United States has been influenced by the Amazon-Orinoco area via the West Indies ». Further on he mentions the lack of published botanical data dealing with such plants as maize, manioc, and the species supplying fish poisons.

It is the hope of the present authors that at least some of the plant-lore of the Island Caribs may be permanently recorded in this publication. The aim of this paper is to provide accurate botanical and ethnographical information about species gathered or cultivated by the Caribs of Dominica not only today but also (as far as possible) in the past. Certain modern commercial crops — such as limes, oranges, and vanilla — which play a part in Carib economy today have been excluded. It is not claimed that all the species included in our list were found growing in the islands at the time of their discovery, for indeed a number of them are of Old World origin. The origin of such species is stated in the enumeration of plants.

II. HISTORICAL NOTES

101 At the time of the Spanish Conquest, the Greater Antilles and the Bahamas
174 were dominated by an Arawakan-speaking people with a stratified society and a religious cult involving priests and idols. These *Taínos*, as they have been called, practised horticulture and made pottery, as did also another, more warlike people called *Maoríjes* or *Ciguayos*, who occupied a part of north-eastern Hispaniola, but about whom little else is known. Nor can much be said about the primitive *Siboneyes* or *Guanahatabeyes*, of whom only a few then remained in the western extremity of Cuba, except that they — unlike other inhabitants of the West Indian islands — had probably come from North America rather than from South America, and still had a non-horticultural and pre-ceramic culture.

191 The Lesser Antilles, from Tobago in the south to Vieques in the north-
198 west, were then occupied by a people called *Kariphuna* or *Island-Carib*, about whom the most widely known fact is that they all used two distinct languages: a « women's speech » belonging to the same linguistic stock (Arawakan) as did Taino, and a « men's speech » belonging to the Cariban family of languages. It is less generally known that, by the middle of the seventeenth century when these languages first were recorded, the latter had degenerated to a jargon in the sense that it could not be used for ordinary communication without resort to a host of grammatical words and affixes belonging to the « women's speech », which was in fact the first language of male and female alike. The

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

« men's speech » was then — and in all probability long had been — a secondary language learnt in late childhood for reasons of prestige. According to Island-Carib tradition, which there seems to be no cause for doubting, the explanation of this peculiar situation is that these islands had been conquered before the coming of the Europeans by a band of *Galibi* (*Kalina* or *True Carib*) warriors from Guiana, who had taken the female inhabitants to wife and killed all the men.

What we may call the national language of the historical Island-Carib is no more Cariban than is English, since the Norman Conquest, a Romance language. But although it is, like them, Arawakan, Kariphuna (Island-Carib) appears to have emerged from the parent tongue centuries before Taino, Lokono, Goajiro and Paraujano; and was therefore most probably brought to these islands by a separate migration. From radiocarbon dating it now appears, on the other hand, that the type of pottery known as « White-on-red », and found only in the valley of the Orinoco and in the Antilles, was being made on the lower Orinoco as early as 800 B. C., while a pre-ceramic culture flourished at the same period on the neighbouring island of Trinidad. At that time, the ancestors of the above-named Arawakan-speaking tribes formed, in all likelihood, a united people speaking one language; and we may conjecture that the first split came about through a partial migration that took horticulture and pottery to Trinidad. The geographical situation in historical times of the Taino, Island-Carib, and Lokono further suggests that the first migrants spread in the course of time to other, more northerly islands, where they were subsequently cut off from their fellow tribesmen in Trinidad by a second migration from the mainland — that of the Island-Caribs' Arawakan-speaking ancestors, who had not participated in the first migration.

It may be fairly assumed that horticulture and pottery were already known to an Arawakan-speaking tribe ancestral to all those we have mentioned so far; but it would not be surprising had the later migrants, whether friendly or hostile to the earlier settlers, introduced innovations that were welcome to the latter dwellers on the periphery of a culture-area. And indeed Taino and Island-Carib have in common several culture words that, whatever their ancestry, are not shared by Lokono or Goajiro, whose basic vocabularies apparently are closer to that of Taino than to that of the Island-Carib. So, for example, the basketry 'sifter' is called *hibis* in Taino and *hibiset* in Island-Carib, but *manale* (borrowed from a Cariban language) in Lokono; the little tree, *Bixa orellana*, whose fruit provided a red paint, is called *bija* in Taino and *biset* in Island-Carib, but *sirabuli* in Lokono; *Genipa americana*, whose fruit provided a black stain, is called *lana* in Taino and *sana* in Island-Carib, but *lana* in Lokono; and the pineapple is called *ididana* in both Taino and Island-Carib, but *nana* in Lokono. Institutional friendship, known both to the Taino and to the Island-Carib (but not to the Lokono), was designated as *eutiao* (by the former) or *wafiet* (by the latter) 'our friend', *datiao* (by the former) or *nafiet* (by the latter) 'my friend'. This last example also suggests a closer genetic relationship between Taino and Lokono, which also has the prefix d(a)- as marker of first person singular; compare Lokono *dabiladu* 'my clan' with Island-Carib *nabitaru* 'my (fishing-) line', string (for bow), etc.

Also the Carib invaders of the Lesser Antilles undoubtedly brought with them changes and innovations, many of which are reflected in the vocabulary. To judge from the latter, these mainly concerned affinal (as opposed to con-

13: Hodge & Taylor N, E-5 (1930-1956) 1957
ST13 Callinago ST13

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sanguineal) kinship, religion and ritual, warfare and navigation, basketry and house construction. Among the plants that may have been introduced by them we may mention a fish-drug (*Clibadium sylvestre*); an herb for curing arrow wounds; the arrow reed (*Gynerium sagittatum*); a marantaceous plant, *Ischnosiphon arouma*, that is still the principal material employed for basketry, and the cashew tree (*Anacardium occidentale*). It is worth noticing that a considerable number of the cultural words that were borrowed presumably from Cariban Kalina are also found in Tupí.

The most recent invaders of these islands, the Europeans themselves, introduced a large number of new things and concepts, together with the words that, for the most part, served the Island-Caribs as models for naming them. BRETON's dictionary (7) contains some six dozen of these loan-words, of which the great majority comes from Spanish (although thereafter borrowing was mainly from French). These include the names of various weapons, tools, clothes and ornaments; of bread, wine, salt and sugar; of carpenter, Christian, coast-guard, king, priest; of Englishman, Flemming, Frenchman, Irishman, Negro and Spaniard; those for the pig, cow, cat, rat, horse, donkey, goat, sheep and hen; those for the coconut, pine (presumably wood rather than tree), and sugar-cane; and those for church, prayer and baptize.

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What may be called the political history of the Island Carib in early colonial times has been summarized in another work (58, Introduction), from which the following citations are taken: « ... by 1493 they had halted in their advance, and, except for sporadic feuds of an almost personal character, had established friendly relations with their neighbours to the northwest, the Taino of Puerto Rico, alongside of whom they fought as allies in the unavailing attempt of its inhabitants to defend that island from the Spaniards... Little is heard of the Caribbee islands from the time of the Tainos' defeat, until, in 1622-1623, St. Kitts (Saint Christopher's) was 'rediscovered' for the French by d'Esnambuc, and for the English by Warner. But although they remained unconquered throughout these years, they did not escape ravage. In 1515 the Carib of Guadeloupe... repulsed a Spanish attack under Ponce de Leon; and defeated, in 1520, an attempted settlement of their island led by Diego Colon, governor of Hispaniola. Laudonniere was told by the Carib of Dominica... — where he touched in 1564, and peaceably traded hatchets, knives, and beads for plantains, pineapples, and sweet potatoes — that they greatly feared the Spaniards, who came thither and 'cut off their stones'. And from this same group Father Raymond Breton heard similar complaints some seventy-five years later ».

Guerrilla warfare between the Europeans and the Indians, with peaceful intermissions, continued throughout the seventeenth century, as one island after another fell to the Dutch, English, or French; until, in 1660, these last two powers signed a treaty guaranteeing the « perpetual possession » of Dominica and St. Vincent to the Island Carib, who on their side, undertook to cease raiding the European settlements on the other islands (this agreement was reaffirmed in 1748 in the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle). Nevertheless, the conflict continued; and by the turn of the century the Indians had been reduced, according to la Borde, to some four thousand souls divided between the two islands still remaining to them. The end came in 1763, when England, at the treaty of Paris, formally annexed both Dominica and St. Vincent. However, the Indians, though henceforth confined to the more inaccessible